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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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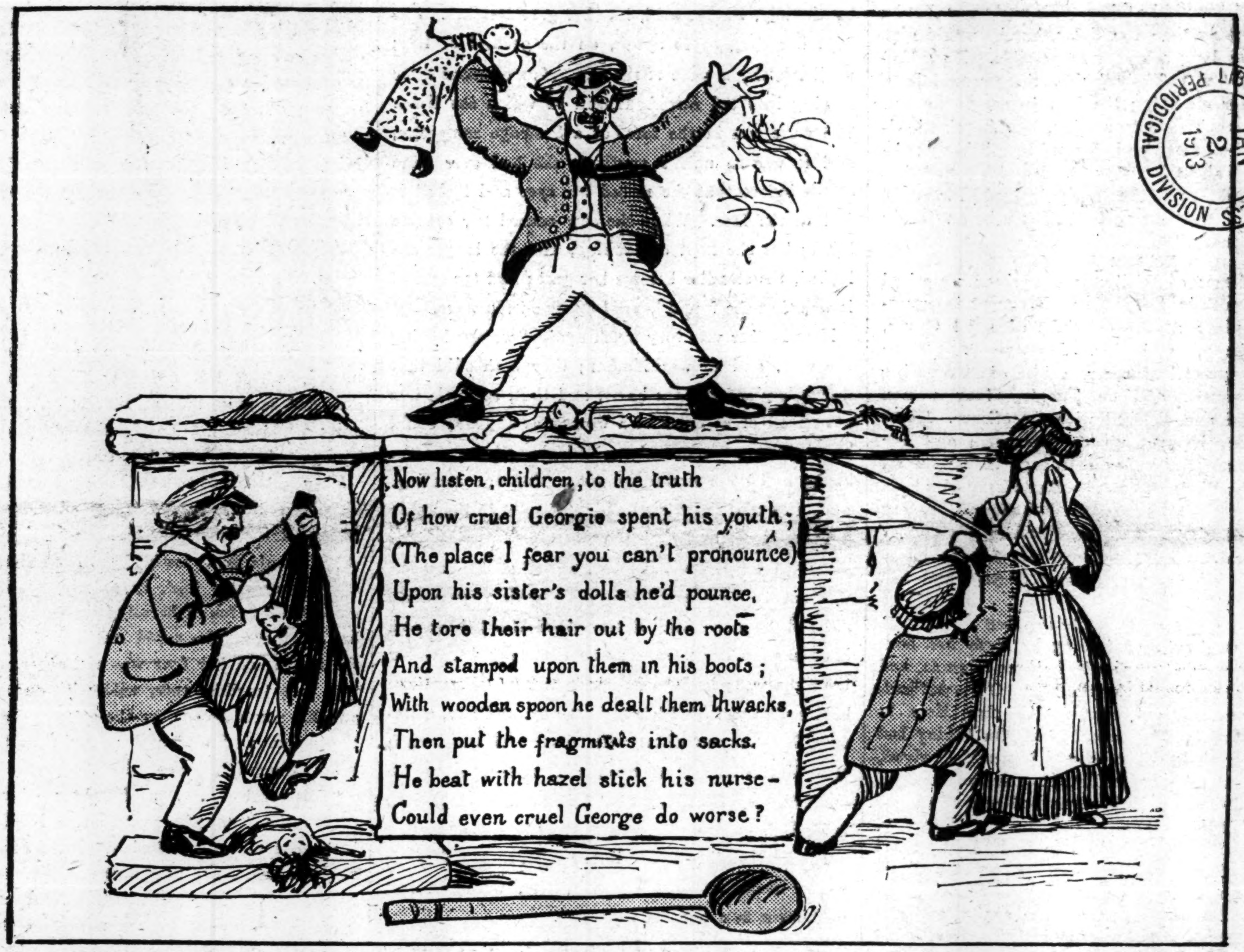
CRUEL GEORGIE

(*With apologies to "Struwelpeter."*)


Now listen, children, to the truth
Of how cruel Georgie spent his youth;
(The place I fear you can't pronounce)
Upon his sister's dolls he'd pounce,
He tore their hair out by the roots
And stamped upon them in his boots;
With wooden spoon he dealt them thwacks,
Then put the fragments into sacks.
He beat with hazel stick his nurse-
Could even cruel George do worse?

PERIODICAL LIBRARY OF CONGRESS JAN 2 1913 DIVISION

A daily paper states that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will preside on Christmas Eve at Llanystumdwy Eisteddfod, where he was a frequent competitor in the days of his boyhood.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Our Cartoon	177
The Outlook	178
Father, Mother and Rosie. By G. Colmore	178
To Resign or not to Resign!	179
"The Confession of a Fool." By Laurence Housman	180
The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship	180
Children's Books	181
Loading the Dice	182
The Rune of Birth and Renewal. By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	183
Dance and Drama	183
Reforming the Prisons	184
The Haunted Cabinet Minister	184
The Militant Agitation	185
Will the Hatchet be Buried ?	185
Our Post Box	186
General News	187

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

In view of the Christmas holiday the next number of VOTES FOR WOMEN *will go to press on Monday next, and will be on sale on Tuesday morning, December 24. The following issue will be published on the usual day.*

THE OUTLOOK

The question propounded in the leading article of our last issue as to the probable retirement of the Prime Minister has been extensively canvassed during the week by politicians and in the Press.

Mr. Hugh Law's Letter

On Friday a letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* from Mr. Hugh Law, the well-known Nationalist M.P., who, though a professed woman suffragist, has twice proved false to the cause—firstly, when he abstained from voting for the Conciliation Bill, and secondly when he voted against Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill. In his letter Mr. Law stated that, though he had intended (he in fact pledged himself) to vote for woman suffrage on the Franchise Bill, yet circumstances might alter this intention. He proceeded to point out that for many months past

> there have been rumours, renewed again and again, that if a suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill were carried certain members of the Government, including the Prime Minister himself, would feel obliged to resign—an event which must almost inevitably lead to the break-up of the Ministry and the loss of the Home Rule Bill.

Mr. Law concluded by saying that unless these fears could be shown to be utterly groundless, he, as an ardent Home Ruler, would not be prepared to jeopardise the Home Rule Bill for the sake of a vote on woman suffrage. The *Manchester Guardian*, in calling attention to this letter, asked Mr. Asquith to make a definite disclaimer of resignation.

Press Views

On the same day the *Daily Herald* published a statement to the effect that Mr. Asquith had no intention of resigning immediately, but that he would not face another general election if women were by that time among the electorate; and the *Observer* published on Sunday a similar statement on the authority of an accredited news agency. The *Sunday Times*, on the other hand, took a view almost identical with our own; namely, that Mr. Asquith contemplated in any case retirement before the General Election, but that the date of his projected retirement might be brought nearer in the event of the situation with regard to woman suffrage becoming more acute.

Mr. Leif Jones's Question

On Monday, in the House of Commons, Mr. Leif Jones sought to elicit the truth by a direct question addressed to the Prime Minister himself. He asked "whether he was aware that certain members of the House of Commons believed that the result of carrying an amendment to the Franchise and Registration Bill enfranchising women would be the resignation of the right hon. gentleman and the break up of the Ministry; whether this was contrary to his own declarations upon this subject; and whether he adhered to his statement that the Government as a whole would accept and carry out the decision of the House upon this question, so that members might cast a free and unfettered vote solely on the merits of women's suffrage?"

Mr. Asquith's Reply

Mr. Asquith's reply was couched in the language which Cabinet Ministers are wont to adopt when they are anxious to be ambiguous. He said:

I am not aware that any such belief exists among members of the House of Commons, or of any grounds on which it is supposed to rest. My public declarations on the subject are on record, and are perfectly plain and explicit.

This masterpiece of evasion can, we venture to say, be construed any way which it pleases the reader to choose. It may be paraphrased as follows: "I won't say I will resign, and I won't say I won't resign." It is worth recording that with the exception of a short paragraph in the *Daily News*, none of the Liberal papers have made any attempt to explain or comment on this sphinxlike utterance.

Date of the Committee Stage of Franchise Bill

On Wednesday afternoon, Mr. Asquith was asked by Mr. Arnold Ward whether he would state the precise dates on which the Committee stage of the Franchise Bill would be taken. His reply was that he could not yet fix the exact dates, but he would give the House as long a notice as possible. He added that it was "very likely" that there would be a time-table for closuring the Bill in compartments. In reply to a subsequent question, Mr. Asquith indicated that the Franchise Bill would probably not be reached until about January 20. He also stated that he anticipated that all the three principal Bills would be disposed of and sent up to the Lords by an "early date in February."

Militant Action

Various forms of militancy have been practised during the week by Suffragists. Frequent interruptions took place at the meetings of Lord Crewe, Mr. Runciman, and Mr. Masterman. There have been several further cases of tampering with pillar-boxes, and on Tuesday four women were arrested and charged with the offence. Three of these were brought up at Greenwich and one at Lambeth on Wednesday morning; they were all remanded, bail being allowed. There have also been several cases of false fire alarms, and on Tuesday Miss Kitty Marion was arrested, and on Wednesday was sentenced at Bow Street to pay £25 or go to prison for a month. She refused to pay, and was removed to prison.

Death from Forcible Feeding

The serious danger of feeding by force has been pointed out over and over again in these columns, and has as often been denied by the Home Office authorities. We are now able, not for the first time, to prove our statement by actual fact. On Friday last an inquest was held on the body of James McGavigan, who died in the Asylum of Letterkenny, co. Donegal, on the previous day. McGavigan had refused supper on Wednesday night and breakfast on Thursday, whereupon the doctor decided to feed him by nasal tube. He offered no resistance. A quarter of an hour later an attendant, noticing that the man was becoming white, applied remedial measures, and sent for the doctor. The latter on arrival, however, found that the man had died in the meantime. A verdict of "Death from heart failure" was returned. From this tragic story the very grave peril which attends the forcible feeding of suffragettes will be appreciated. The fact that, instead of remaining passive as McGavigan did, they offer active resistance, makes the risk so much the more severe.

Votes for Women in Denmark

By 95 votes to 12 the Folkthing (or Lower House) in Denmark has carried a Bill in which equal suffrage for women is included. In congratulating our Danish friends on this victory, it is necessary to remember that before the measure can become law it has not only to run the gauntlet of the Upper House, but, even if successful there, it has further to be carried a second time through both Houses after a general election has taken place.

This Week's Paper

Our leader this week deals with the Parliamentary situation of the Votes for Women movement; other matter of interest with regard to the Franchise Bill will be found on page 179, and militant news is given on page 185, and elsewhere in the paper. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech at the Wharncliffe Rooms last Tuesday will be found under the title of "The Rune of Birth and Renewal," and readers already acquainted with G. Colmore's delightful Suffragette studies will have the pleasure of reading "Father, Mother, and Rosie," which appears on this page. Prison Reform is also dealt with in this issue; and some interesting correspondence will be found on "Our Post-Box" page.

FATHER, MOTHER, AND ROSIE

By G. Colmore, Author of "Suffragette Sally," &c.

Father was a greengrocer and Mother was a housewife; Rosie was their only child. Both Father and Mother "favoured" the greengrocery business, for Mother's shape was not unlike that of a lettuce, a round, comfortable cabbage lettuce, the kind that has a good heart—which was Mother's kind too; and Father's large bald head and indeterminate face were vaguely suggestive of a turnip. Rosie was like a flower. Her name had been Mother's choice and was justified, so delicately featured was Rosie, so soft in colouring.

Father looked after the shop and Mother looked after the house, and both looked after Rosie. Rosie looked after nothing; nor at very much. She was a bit dreamy, Father said, like her grandmother. She kept her eyes, so to speak, on the ground of life; until one day a wave of the woman's movement came flowing into the neighbourhood in which she lived. The wave was in the form of a Suffrage campaign, and it was so unlike anything she had ever come across before that she raised her eyes and looked it full in the face. What she saw caused her eyes to blink; but she kept on looking, and the longer she looked, the steadier became her gaze; and the end of it was that she found herself afloat on the wave.

Now Father was very much against women having the vote, and so was Mother; they both said that woman's place was the home, and that, as Rosie was a woman—or as much of a woman as anybody could be who was so much of a child—*her* place was the home, and most decidedly not a Suffrage meeting. They also said that they had been longer in the world than she had, and that they were her parents and knew what was good for her, and that anyhow she was not to have anything to do with women who didn't behave as such. Rosie agreed that Father and Mother were her parents; also that they were older than she was; but she had been to several meetings before she was forbidden to go to any, and had, moreover, had conversations with several of the women who didn't behave as such, and doubts as to the omniscience of Father and Mother had crept into her mind.

There were other things in her mind besides doubts; vague ideas, impossible possibilities, which at last took form in a definite intention.

"Father," she said at tea one day, "I want to go to a meeting."

"Now, Rosie, you know what I said."

"Now, Rosie, you know what Father said."

"Not a *Suffrage* meeting," said Rosie, "a political meeting, a *Liberal* meeting."

Now, Father was a Liberal, of what he called the good, old-fashioned, steady type, and so, of course, was Mother; and when Father said that a Liberal meeting was a different thing, Mother said, so it was, to be sure. But Rosie could not go alone. Oh, no, she was going with Miss Parsons, the dressmaker. Miss Parsons was a superior person, so *that* was all right.

It was all right till Rosie had started, and then, who should come in but Mrs. Higgins, and what Mrs. Higgins said to Mother sent Mother in consternation to Father. For there were to be Suffragettes at the highly respectable Liberal meeting, and they were going to ask questions, and—and say things; and Mrs. Higgins had been told by Miss Ball, who heard it through her brother's young lady, who had been told by Mrs. Maclane, that Miss Parsons had become a Suffragette! *What* might not Rosie be up to? Father was a man of decision; he said at once, "We must follow her."

So they went, in a taxi, though both Father and Mother objected to any vehicle more modern than a fourwheeler; and Mother, what with fear of going too fast for her own safety and Father's, and not fast enough for Rosie's, was in a state of moisture and flurry not to be described.

They reached the hall some twenty minutes after the meeting had begun, just after the Cabinet Minister had started on his speech. They entered at the back of the hall and sat down near the entrance. They could not see Rosie. Father stood up and craned his neck, while Mother wiped her face with a handkerchief; but there was no sign of Rosie, perhaps because she was a little thing not easily to be distinguished in a crowd. Still, it was not long before they found out where she was. The Cabinet Minister was saying fine things; indeed, if it had not been for Mrs. Higgins's suggestion Father would quite have enjoyed himself Poor Mother was still too moist for enjoyment, and her seat was far too narrow; she was like a lettuce on a threepenny bit.

"We must guard as sacred," said the Cabinet Minister, "the liberties of Englishmen"

"And what," rang out a shrill little voice, "of the liberties of Englishwomen?"

Father sprang to his feet, and Mother tried to, but couldn't. Yes, it was Rosie; Father could see her hat, the hat with the pink roses, before it was torn off her head; and then could see nothing but a human whirlpool that swept round where she had been, and moved, while the Cabinet Minister's voice was drowned in cries and counter cries, towards a side exit; a whirlpool, with something in the midst, that was pulled and dragged and hit at.

They got out somehow, Father and Mother; with difficulty, for at first the man behind Mother wanted to hold her down; and in the street, in an excited crowd, made inquiries for Rosie. She had been taken away, they were told, by a lady friend; and once more Mother found herself in a taxi. But now she had no fear of the rapid motion, of the dangers of the traffic; all her fear was of Father. For Father was in a terrible state, wild with anger. His face and his whole head were the colour of a swede, and the storm within found vent in muttered words before which Mother trembled.

"Shameful . . . a daughter of mine . . . disgraceful," together with more lurid utterances, betokened a fury not to be stemmed or spent before they reached home and Rosie. Of course, the child had done very wrong; of course, her place was the home, but—but—however it might be, she was Rosie—and if Father should be too hard on her, should——

As they neared the street of the shop and the home, Mother ventured to put out a shaking hand and lay it on Father's knee. "Father, I—we—you—oh, Father, don't be too hard on the little one!" Father made no reply, except by continued mutterings of "disgraceful," and the like; and Mother, made desperate by the near approach of the crisis, tried again, in a louder voice, a more imploring tone. Then at last he turned and answered her direct. "What're you talking about? Do you take me for a fool? The girl was quite right." Mother stared and started, and then understood; and in a transport of tears and tenderness she put a wet face against Father's shoulder and sobbed out, "Oh, Father, I thought so too."

They found Rosie with torn clothes and bruised limbs, and you would have thought from the way Father tip-toed about the room and the way Mother patted her to sleep, that she was a baby in a cradle, and not a young woman with ideas on the status of her sex.

Father and Mother do not discuss the question of Suffrage and the Suffragettes. When Mother is approached on the subject she shakes her head and says, "I can't go against Rosie." As for Father, he has but one answer to every argument: "Anyone should go and see for theirselves," says Father.

TO RESIGN OR NOT TO RESIGN!

Will Mr. Asquith Retire if the Amendment Passes?

Monday, December 16

In the House of Commons on Monday, December 16, Mr. Leif Jones asked whether the Prime Minister was aware that certain members of the House of Commons believed that the result of carrying an amendment to the Franchise and Registration Bill enfranchising women would be the resignation of the Prime Minister and the break-up of the Ministry; whether this was contrary to his own declarations upon this subject; and whether he adhered to his statement that the Government as a whole would accept and carry out the decision of the House upon this question, so that members might cast a free and unfettered vote solely on the merits of Woman Suffrage?

The Prime Minister: I am not aware that any such belief exists among members of the House of Commons or of any ground upon which it is supposed to rest. My public declarations on the subject are on record, and are perfectly plain and explicit.

Mr. Croft: Is the right hon. gentleman prepared to assent to a policy which he has described as a "national disaster"?

The Prime Minister: If the hon. member disquotes me he must put the question down.

Mr. Arnold Ward: Will the right hon. gentleman state when the Committee stage of the Franchise Bill will be taken?

The Prime Minister: It will be taken after Christmas.

Mr. Leif Jones: Has the right hon. gentleman seen the letter written by the hon. member for North Donegal in which the rumour appears?

The Prime Minister: I have nothing to add to the answer I have given.

Previously to this declaration of the Prime Minister's, a great deal of discussion had taken place both in the London and Provincial Press on the question dealt with in our leader in last week's issue—"Will Mr. Asquith Retire?" We give below some extracts from both to show how widespread the rumour had become before Mr. Leif Jones put it in the form of a question in the House of Commons.

Mr. Hugh Law on the Rumour.

The following letter, which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of December 12, was sent by Mr. Hugh Law, M.P., to the hon. secretary of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies:—

Dear Miss Courtney,—I am in receipt of your letter in which you ask me what I and other Irish Suffragists propose to do with regard to the women's suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill. I will try to state the position as it presents itself to me. Of course I can speak only for myself, though I believe my views are in harmony with those of more than one of my colleagues. It is unfortunately true that the events of the past few months have not tended (to put it mildly) to increase the number of supporters of women's suffrage in the ranks of the Irish party. The open hostility of a noisy if comparatively small section of Suffragists to Home Rule, the atrocious outrages attending Mr. Asquith's visit to Dublin, and the more recent attacks upon the Chairman of the Irish party when pleading the Home Rule cause at meetings in this country have, I fear, irretrievably alienated some who were formerly friendly, and have imposed a severe strain even upon those of us who are most deeply convinced of the innate justice of the suffrage claim.

I think, however, most of us realise that, after all, these incidents, deplorable as they are, should not be given too much weight, since they are the work of a comparatively few persons, and in no way represent the views of the great body of women who desire enfranchisement. Far more serious in my eyes is the consideration of the possible effect of the carrying of a suffrage amendment upon the political situation as a whole. Everyone must realise that Irish Nationalist members are sent here primarily to win Home Rule for Ireland, and that, if we had good reason to believe that the carrying of a women's suffrage amendment would prejudice that cause we should be bound as loyal representatives of our constituents, however painful such a course might be to us as individuals, to abstain from supporting or even, if need be, to vote against such amendment. This attitude has been described as selfish. For my part I think it is the only one consistent with the duty we owe to those who sent us to represent them in this House.

Now I cannot forget that for many months past there have been rumours, renewed again and again, that if a suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill were carried certain members of the Government, including the Prime Minister himself, would feel obliged to resign—an event which must almost inevitably lead to the break-up of the Ministry and the loss of the Home Rule Bill. These rumours are so persistent that one cannot help being to some extent affected by them, though I must add that, so far as the Prime Minister is concerned, I myself find it very difficult to credit them, having regard to his statements in reply to Mrs. Fawcett's deputation. I can hardly bring myself to believe that he is the man to take away with one hand what he gives with the other. It is, however, manifest that there can be no really free vote on the merits of the question so long as such fear is in the minds of supporters of the Government, as undoubtedly is the case at the present time. And that is why the existing uncertainty is so injurious.

You will understand that under these circumstances it is impossible for me to do more than to repeat what I said on Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill—namely, that I personally intend to vote in favour of the enfranchisement of women on the assumption that the House is free in all quarters to vote on the merits of the question, a condition which of course implies, so far as Irish Nationalists are concerned, that the paramount interests of Home Rule are not directly or indirectly imperilled.—I am, yours very sincerely,

Hugh Law.

House of Commons, December 11, 1912.

A Strong Liberal Comment

The *Manchester Guardian* commented on this letter in a leading article, in the course of which it says:—"Mr. Law is a whole-hearted Suffragist, yet he confesses to Miss Courtney that if he had reason to believe that the passing of a suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill would prejudice the Irish cause he and the other Nationalist members would feel bound not to support and, if necessary, to vote against it."

The article then quotes Mr. Law's assertion that no free vote can be taken until the fears of Cabinet resignations are dispelled, and goes on to say:—"This is indeed obvious, and for that very reason those who know Mr. Asquith, and know therefore how careful and scrupulous he is to observe, in letter and in spirit, any pledge that he has given, have been wholly unable to believe that—apart even from the inadequacy of the cause—he would for a moment contemplate such a course. When in November last Mr. Asquith undertook to leave the question of including women in the Reform Bill to a free vote of the House of Commons he did so expressly on the ground that both the great political parties were divided on the subject, that therefore it was impossible that either of them should make their enfranchisement a Government measure, and that for this reason it was only fair that the House as a whole should decide the matter in accordance with its real convictions and without party pressure. He further undertook that if a suffrage amendment were carried it should be incorporated in the Government Bill and treated as an integral part of it. Now it is obvious that when he freely consented to do this Mr. Asquith cannot possibly have regarded the occurrence of the event, which he thus promised in advance to accept, as involving a slight to himself or making his position in any way untenable. Were this the case, or even were it believed or suspected to be the case, there could be no free vote, the question could not be decided on its merits, the real majority for women's suffrage in the House, if it existed, could not take effect, and the whole procedure which was supposed to imply and lead up to such a free vote and unbiased decision would be seen to be a make-believe. Clear, however, though this may be as a matter of argument and inference, it is not so convincing in practice as not to need to be further fortified if the vote, when it comes to be taken, is not to be powerfully affected and the whole object which Mr. Asquith's promise was meant to attain defeated. . . . Sir Edward Grey, in the letter which we published on Dec. 10, stated definitely that "there is no truth in the report that if a women's suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill were carried it would be followed by a resignation which would break up the Government," and this is entirely satisfactory so far as it goes. But an even more authoritative disclaimer is needed, and will, we trust, be forthcoming.

OPINIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY: Some Extracts

Various rumours have for some time past been circulated to the effect that, if a woman suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill were carried, the Prime Minister would resign office. These rumours have been given no currency in the *Times*, as there was no reason to believe that they were well-founded. But women suffragists felt that if the rumours were believed this might prevent some members of the House of Commons who are favourable to their cause from voting for one or other of the woman suffrage amendments. Mr. Asquith, it is understood, was privately approached on the subject, and his reply is believed to have been that such rumours did not call for serious consideration, unless it were shown that any member of the House of Commons really believed them.—**The Times, Dec. 16.**

Supporters of the Suffrage movement continue to be upset by the conflicting rumours of what the Prime Minister will do should the House of Commons pass a Suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill, and so bring about that which he has described as a "disaster." Accordingly Mr. Leif Jones will put a "leading" question to his leader this afternoon. . . . Even Mr. Asquith may find it awkward to avoid giving a definite reply to this series of interrogations; and it may be expected that members who are not Suffragists will call his attention to other "declarations" than those referred to by Mr. Leif Jones.—**Morning Post, Dec. 16.**

For some time past there have been equally authorative statements that Mr. Asquith would resign if a Woman's Suffrage amendment were carried to the Franchise Bill, and, on the other hand, that it would be impossible for him to resign after definitely agreeing to the acceptance of such an amendment. These contradictory statements have both been made in good faith, but with insufficient knowledge, for there is now every reason to believe that Mr. Asquith will eventually resign if a Woman's Suffrage Amendment be embodied in the Franchise Bill or carried at all by the present Parliament. It is, however, quite true that Mr. Asquith would not dream of taking the undignified step of immediate resignation.

Even if Woman Suffrage be adopted by the House, Mr. Asquith will continue to hold office so long as the present Parliament lasts, but it is known that he has definitely decided that he will not seek the suffrages of women electors, nor will he hold office in a Government which has had to appeal for women's votes. Although it is doubtful whether any Suffrage Amendment to the Franchise Bill can be carried, there is yet considerable likelihood that other opportunities may arise in the present Parliament for the passage of a Woman's Suffrage Act, whilst should that fail it is more than likely that the Liberal Party may find itself compelled to go to the electors with some form of Adult Suffrage. In either of these cases Mr. Asquith would retire at the General Election. There are certain circumstances under which it may be necessary for the Premier to make some statement upon this point early in the New Year, but it is understood that he is anxious to avoid any step which would unduly hamper his Suffragist colleagues or savour of bad faith in the matter of his pledge.—**Daily Herald.**

We learn that Mr. Asquith has made it clear to his colleagues that he will retire at the end of the present Parliament if the Votes for Women policy is carried in any form or becomes part of the policy upon which his party appeals to the country. He has further intimated that he can neither be a member of any Government kept in office by women's votes, nor can he seek the suffrage of an electorate including women. There is just the possibility that political exigencies may force Mr. Lloyd George and other advanced members of the Government to come out boldly on the side of woman's suffrage, and in that case Mr. Asquith's hand will be forced and the resignation will take effect sooner than was originally contemplated.—**Sunday Times.**

There is no confirmation for a paragraph which appears in a Sunday paper to-day giving a resignation rumour in a further form.—**Manchester Guardian.**

The suffragettes profess to have discovered the details of a Ministerial plot to extricate the Prime Minister from his pledge in regard to women's suffrage. The details are circumstantial, and certainly have about them an air of verisimilitude, particularly after Mr. Lloyd George has paved the way with his declaration that the omens are not now so propitious for the women's cause as they were. — **Yorkshire Post.**

The *Manchester Despatch*, repeating the rumour, adds:—

> The present intention, I am told, is that the issue shall not be raised in the definite form for at least two years, but it is understood that Mr. Lloyd George is about to add to his land campaign a demand for adult suffrage, with votes for women on the Norwegian basis, and this may force the Premier's hand early in the new year.

The *Observer* of last Sunday also stated, on the authority of a news agency, that—

> Mr. Asquith will not take the undignified course of resigning in a huff should Woman's Suffrage become the settled policy of the Government in accordance with his own pledge. . . . He has further intimated that he cannot either be a member of any Government kept in office by women's votes, nor can he seek the suffrage of an electorate including women.

P. W. W. on the Prime Minister's Answer

In your columns it has been stated on authority more than once that the Prime Minister would not resign if women were included in the Reform Bill. According to Mr. Leif Jones, there are still some misgivings on the point, and it is possibly a fair conjecture that opponents of the suffrage have sometimes assisted these rumours. In reply to the hon. member, the Prime Minister laid all these speculations to rest by denying knowledge of it, "or of any grounds on which it is supposed to rest." Loud cheers followed this explicit renewal of the Prime Minister's pledge.—**P. W. W. in the "Daily News"** December 17.

A Unionist Jest

C. E. B., in the *Evening News*, chirps as follows upon the denial in Liberal papers of the rumour that Mr. Asquith will resign:—

It is false, it is false, what these Unionists say
Of the Radical leader's fixed intent.
Although he believes, in his own quaint way,
"In representative government."
He's a thoroughly squeezable kind of a chap;
If his lambs cry "Snip!" he will answer "Snap!"

Though "Votes for Women," he begs to think,
Would be a "disaster" beyond repair,
He will swallow the physic without a wink,
Accepting the principle then and there.
If he cannot control the majority,
He will stick to his watchword of "Votes for Me!"

DATE OF THE FRANCHISE BILL

Mr. Arnold Ward asked the Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, on Wednesday afternoon, whether, having regard to the importance, in the interests of all parties, of the dates of the division on the Woman Suffrage Amendments to the Franchise and Registration Bill being fixed as long in advance as possible, he would state the precise date on which the Committee Stage of the Bill would be taken?

Mr. Asquith: I am afraid I cannot yet fix the exact date, but I will give the House as long notice as possible.

Mr. King: Will there be a time table for the Franchise Bill?

Mr. Asquith: That is very likely.

Subsequently replying to Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Asquith said he thought the Committee Stage of the Franchise Bill would be taken about January 20.

Business of the House

Mr. Asquith further stated that the three principal Bills—Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and Franchise—would occupy the time of the House up till an early date in February, but the session would not of course end then.

WHEN IS A PLEDGE NOT A PLEDGE?

In the House of Commons, on December 2, the Prime Minister, in answer to Mr. Moore, who asked him whether he was aware that the Home Secretary had given a specific pledge that the Feeble-minded Control Bill should be passed this Session, said:—

"That is subject, *as all such pledges are,* to Parliamentary exigencies."

"THE CONFESSION OF A FOOL"*

The title of this extraordinary book seems, on the face of it, as candid and truthful as one could wish. As a matter of fact, it is highly disingenuous; for while it pretends to be a confession, which implies humility and penitence, it is really a vitriolic accusation piled up, with an assumption of superior virtue, by the author against his wife. Strindberg does not in the least mean us to think him a fool—for at the very end of the book he rehearses his marital acts with considerable self-applause; he behaved, he tells us, with quite wonderful decency; all he means is that in one particular department of life—through his deepest and tenderest affection—he was hoodwinked and fooled. And yet, without in the least intending it, he stands here self-revealed, not as a fool who has come at last to his right mind, but as a fool unconscious to the end of the point wherein his folly lies.

Quite early in the book, almost in its first pages, the central folly declares itself. Opportunity for "a delightful adventure" (his own phrase for it) comes to him. "I was willing enough. . . . A short time ago a little vixen had made a fool of me, and I had sworn to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity to revenge myself." Here, then, we have it—the first indication of what Strindberg means by a "fool," in matters sexual; and the method he employs for recovering his "manly dignity"; surely as plain and unvarnished a statement as we could wish for, dating back to the year 1870, or thereabouts, of that "sex-war" which is supposed to be the special product of the militant Suffragist. As who should say, "Once I was cheated by a Frenchman, therefore I will in future cheat all Frenchmen," he sets out to inflict damage on "the sex." One woman has tricked and injured him, his manhood requires of him that he shall trick and injure some other woman. He exhibits to a party of friends and fellow-students the trophy he has already secured, and goes gaily off to his scalp-hunting. To this first "lady friend" he becomes, much against his will, partially engaged, and is by her introduced to the woman who afterwards becomes his wife. For love of the one he throws over the other, and with one scalp at his girdle goes forward to endure a life of slow-torture in having his own scalp taken gradually and systematically by the wife of his bosom. That, at least, is his own account of it.

But at the beginning of things there is an impediment in the way; the lady has a husband, and his love in consequence remains, so he tells us, honourable and transcendental, untouched by baser thought. On one occasion the lady takes his arm, and his transcendental love thus expresses itself:—

"I imagined that I could detect, at the height of my deltoid muscle the exact spot where the sleeve of her undergarment ended . . . In walking along, side by side, I could distinguish the curve of her hips through the skirt which brushed against my legs. . . . The sound of her little feet keeping time with my own drew our nervous systems so closely together that I felt almost as if I were walking on four feet, like a quadruped."

Admirable illuminating touch: there is Strindberg the writer of genius! Later in the book he is furious and disgusted because his wife has become a sentimental anatomist on very similar lines, though at this time his own complaint of her, and also her husband's, is that she is unresponsive and sexually cold.

Transcendental love is given material on which to feed itself: the husband in his wife's absence reveals marital secrets, and the lover returns to his rooms, his "brain on fire with the indiscreet disclosures I had been made to listen to." A few days later the wife says to him, "Gustav is angry with me for coming back unexpectedly; he had been building on meeting my charming cousin again." This Strindberg, who has received the husband's confidences as fuel to his passion, regards as an insult to his sex, and he turns on the lady indignantly with the words, "If you want to bring charges against your husband, hadn't you better do it in his presence?" One begins now to perceive the nature of this "love"; and we get as the outcome of that incident this priceless diatribe:—

"The statue of the Madonna had fallen down: woman had shown herself behind the beautiful image, woman, treacherous, faithless, with sharp claws! When she attempted to make me her confidant she was taking her first step toward the breaking of her marriage vows; at that moment hatred of her sex was born in me. She had insulted the man and the sex in me, and I took the part of her husband against her. Not that I flattered myself with being a virtuous man, but in love man is never a thief, he only takes what is given to him. It is woman who steals and sells herself. The only time when she gives unselfishly is when she betrays her husband."

And he winds up with the astounding lie, "I had not desired this woman in any other way than as a friend."

To purge himself of her taint he rushes off to an orgie with his scientific and literary colleagues, where—"I delivered myself of a stream of vulgar platitudes, abusing and insulting women in high-flown verses, mixed with anatomical terms. Intoxicated with the coarse suggestions, the vulgar profanation, I surpassed myself in heaping insults on the head of my Madonna. . . . My messmates, poor devils, acquainted with love in its lowest aspects only, listened eagerly to my vile denunciations of a lady of rank who was utterly beyond their reach." The scene ends in a cry uttered by many voices, "To the women, you men!" Hats and overcoats were donned, and the whole horde trooped out—warriors to the battlefield of sex.

It is on the day following this that he finds himself back at the Baroness's side, and becomes "like a quadruped" in the recovery of his finer emotions.

With this preparation we are led on to the marriage, by way of a divorce arranged for by consent of all parties; and thereafter we are given in extraordinary detail a study, by this perfectly equipped bridegroom, of the deteriorating character of his wife: she (this woman whose husband had complained of her for her cold and reserved nature) becomes sensual and sexually depraved. It is a study full of horror made without pity by the man who was as likely as not its cause. Early in their married life we read how, after her confinement, she sought for a respite which apparently her husband was not willing to concede. Thereafter her destruction proceeds apace: one day her husband is loading her with abuse and charges of unfaithfulness, on the next lying at her feet and submitting himself once more to the hypocritical tenderness of her embraces, asking to be deceived. For all this we have, of course, only his word. After some years of married misery he strikes her repeatedly in the face. This has a momentarily subjugating effect, and evokes from him the delighted cry of an explorer into the unknown, "Had I struck her ten years ago I should now be the happiest of husbands!"

A few days later she voluntarily supplies him with evidence on which to procure a divorce; and he leaves the house determined to write among friends in France "the story of this woman, the true representative of the age of the unsexed." But away from her he finds he is lacking in material. "Separation from my family," he says, "paralysed me mentally. I decided to return to them, and stay with them until I had written the story of Marie's crimes. In this way she would become the unconscious tool of my revenge, which I could throw away when I had no further use for it." With this end in view he drops his proceedings for a divorce, comes back to her, asks her forgiveness, sleeps like a tired child with his head on her knee, and then—sits up and writes his book!

A companion book which he had planned in order to complete the picture—the story told from the wife's side—he abandoned because, to quote his own words, "it goes too much against common-sense to allow a criminal to give evidence against her victim." Perhaps, without intending it in the least, that is the very book, with only the pronoun changed, which he has actually written.

Here, then, briefly indicated, is the "confession": it is an astonishing book, certainly a book to read. But the most significant thing to note is the way it has been reviewed. The appeal *ad misericordiam* of the title has been sufficient to put nearly every reviewer off the track; and none seems to have noted how from his young bachelor days this great writer had committed himself to savage and predatory "sex-war."

Laurence Housman.

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* "The Confession of a Fool." By August Strindberg. Translated by Ellie Schleussner. (Stephen Swift and Co. London, 1912. 6s.)

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

The Votes for Women Fellowship is a proof of how much can be done by individual initiative and individual effort without waiting for the machinery of organisation.

One keen and ardent spirit, one active and practical brain, one head and one pair of hands and feet can, and often does, set more life forces to work than a committee comprising long lists of names.

We draw special attention this week to the letter, on page 186, of a new recruit who has lately won twenty-eight new subscribers to the Paper. She tells us just how she did it. It all seems so easy. It is just what any girl, or for the matter of that any boy or any woman or man that cared enormously, can do. That is the secret. We have only to *care enough* and to concentrate our attention and effort enough upon our purpose, in order to accomplish it. We must get at the general public.

The public that won't go to meetings—the people that know nothing of our Movement except what they see in the morning and evening papers. We want their understanding for our Cause. We want their sympathy. We want their co-operation. We cannot do without it.

The ideals for which we stand cannot gain ground without it. Compulsion cannot be brought upon the Government to give votes to women without it.

It is up to every one of us as individuals to put forth supreme effort, and to fight this battle for liberty with all our might, using whatever weapon it is possible for us to wield. Our Paper, Votes for Women, is one of the weapons. I should be glad to get other letters like that of Miss Harris, telling the story of what the individual has been able to achieve.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

(Letters relating to the Fellowship will be found on page 186.)

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

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CHILDREN'S BOOKS

Amongst the trivial and commonplace trash which is deluging the market just now, it is delightful to come across such a book as "As it is in Heaven."* Mr. Clark has taken up his task of writing for children quite seriously, and grudged neither time nor thought; it is full of beautiful incidents and lovely language, and the illustrations and binding are worthy of the letterpress. So many people seem to think that any careless nonsense is good enough for children, that the amount of "pot-boilers" which appear every Christmas is truly disheartening. Whether children will appreciate Mr. Clark's efforts on their behalf remains to be seen. The story is of a little boy who finds himself in heaven, and meets there, in loving camaraderie, all sorts of people and all sorts of animals. He shakes hands with Livingstone, and has a ride on Jumbo; he sails amongst the clouds, and walks beneath the waters. The book is absolutely original, and it may be it will catch on as "Alice in Wonderland" and "Peter Pan" have caught on; but, on the other hand, it may be that the majority of modern children are too superficial to enjoy it. They have so many books, they see so many plays, that they scarcely have time for the richer and deeper thoughts of childhood.

For girls in their teens we can recommend "When the King Came South,"† a tale of Charles' flight after Worcester, which is less bigoted than most of the tales of that period, and is also accurate and well written.

"Kensington Rhymes"‡ are a long way after Stevenson's "Child's Garden of Verse." They breathe the very conventional and stuffy air of Kensington, and deal with such city subjects as coal-men, and pillar-boxes, and pavement artists. The illustrations are clever, and we are bound to say that the London child we tried it on liked the book.

◆

"ANOTHER SPION KOP"§

By far the best things in "The Bow-Wow Book" are in rhyme, though we may be a little prejudiced in the matter, because the best thing of all is a verse about the Suffragist window-breakers; and here it is, under the title of "Things that my Dog thought he saw":—

He heard a crash of glass that made
  Him jump with fright, and hop.
"The Suffragettes again!" he groaned,
  "Another Spion Kop!
Till women get the vote" (he winked)
  "You don't catch me keep shop!"

Other verses in the book, though not so good as this one (for they are not about Suffragists at all), are well worth quoting—this one, for instance:—

A poodle was charged by the law
For resembling Hall Caine. With his paw
  Pressed close to his forehead,
  He sobbed, "Yes, it's horrid!
But at least I'm not like Bernard Shaw!"

And this one, too, is pleasing from our point of view:—

My dog (a Tory) says the Gov-
  Ernment would steal or forge.
He likens them to Nero and
  Likewise unto the Borg-
Ias; and when a submarine
  Did a great statesman gorge,
He said: "If precious lives are risked,
  May I suggest Lloyd George?"

The illustrations, by Lawson Wood and L. Raven Hill, are as humorous as the verse.

◆

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Lyrics." By Lady Margaret Sackville. (London: Herbert and Daniel. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Jane Austen." By Lady Margaret Sackville. (London: Herbert and Daniel. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Heroes of Science." By Charles R. Gibson. (London: Seeley Service and Co. Price 5s.)

"Things Seen in Russia." By W. Barnes Steveni. (London: Seeley Service and Co. Price 2s. net.)

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* "As it is in Heaven." By Alfred Clark. (Sampson Low. 7s. 6d. net.)

† "When the King Came South." By Helen Watson. (Religious Tract Society. 6s.)

‡ "Kensington Rhymes." By Compton Mackenzie. (Martin Secker. 5s. net.)

§ "The Bow-Wow Book." By Coulson Kernahan. (J. Nisbet and Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

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—BY—

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

(The speech delivered by him from the dock of the Old Bailey, May, 1912 together with a biographical note.)

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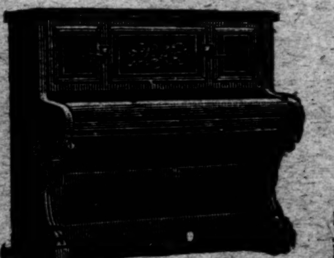

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1912.

LOADING THE DICE

According to the Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons on Wednesday last the Committee stage of the Franchise Bill will not be reached until about January 20. There is, therefore, still some time left in which to take stock of the situation.

In their attitude towards the Franchise Bill and possible amendments thereto, woman Suffragists are divided into two schools. The first school believes that the situation provides a "great opportunity" for the enfranchisement of women, that it has only to be laid hold of and worked for all it is worth to secure for women a partial if not a complete satisfaction of their claims. The second school believes that so far as women are concerned the Bill is a deliberate attempt to prevent their enfranchisement, that the "great opportunity" is an absolute sham, and that the Bill must be swept away and a real opportunity provided in its place.

The grounds on which the first school of Suffragists base their conclusions are: (1) That the Bill has been drafted so as to be capable of amendment to include women on a wide or narrow basis; (2) that Cabinet Ministers have stated that the question shall be left open to the free vote of the House of Commons; (3) that there is a majority of the House in favour of the principle of woman suffrage; (4) that if a woman suffrage amendment be incorporated in the Bill Mr. Asquith has promised that the Government will continue to press forward the Bill as a whole, and (5) that if the Bill amended so as to include women be passed this session, it will, in common with the Home Rule Bill and Welsh Disestablishment Bill, secure the benefit of the Parliament Act and be independent (ultimately) of any opposition which may be forthcoming in the House of Lords.

The other school of Suffragists, with which we find ourselves in complete agreement, base their views upon the following considerations:—

Firstly, the Franchise Bill as it stands is one to give a vote to every man and no woman. If passed in its present form it would erect a very serious barrier against woman suffrage because it would permanently divide the logical suffragist, who seeks absolute sex equality, from the moderate suffragist, who wishes to see a "reasonable" number of women enfranchised. Therefore, as there is a distinct chance of all amendments being defeated, the Bill is a very grave menace to women.

Secondly, the Bill splits up the supporters of woman suffrage in the House into rival groups. There are the supporters of complete adult suffrage. There are the supporters of what is known as the Norwegian amendment, designed to enfranchise women occupiers and the wives of men occupiers. There are the supporters of the Conciliation Bill amendment, designed to enfranchise women occupiers only. And it is exceedingly doubtful whether any one of these three amendments will secure in the last resort a large proportion of the votes of members belonging to other groups. Therefore, it does not in the least follow that because there is a majority of members pledged to the *principle* of woman suffrage, any particular amendment will be carried.

Thirdly, there are grave reasons for believing that the pledge that members of Parliament will be left free to vote according to their personal opinions is not being kept in the spirit in which some Suffragists are trusting to it. Rumours are being freely circulated in the House of Commons that the inclusion of woman suffrage in the Bill will mean the retirement of Mr. Asquith and the break-up of the Ministry. The important point is not whether these rumours are well founded but whether they are being believed, and of that there is no doubt whatever. Mr. Hugh Law, an Irish Suffragist, has already announced that unless this rumour be definitely disproved his vote will be cast against woman suffrage, because in his opinion Home Rule depends on the continuance of the present Ministry intact. Judging from the ambiguous answer given to Mr. Leif Jones on Monday last, Mr. Asquith has no intention of allaying anxiety on this score by a direct denial, he prefers to leave this weapon in the hands of his fellow anti-suffragists.

Finally, as we have shown over and over again in these columns, the Parliamentary time table is such that it is exceedingly doubtful whether in any case the Franchise Bill can be taken through all its stages without creating an exceedingly difficult situation for the Government, and this fact is also being used as an argument to induce members to vote against the Suffrage amendment so that the Bill can then be withdrawn without any overt breach of pledge by the Prime Minister.

It is perhaps not unnatural that those Suffragists who believe in the reality of the "great opportunity" for the enfranchisement of women provided by the Franchise Bill should think that our exposure of these facts is ill-judged, that we are "queering the pitch," and thereby injuring any chance there may be of securing the passage of an amendment. But the exact opposite is the case. Even if we believed that there was a remote possibility that women might secure the vote through an amendment to the Bill we should consider we were rendering a great service to the cause by stating the facts as we see them, in particular by dragging out into the light of day the rumour about Mr. Asquith's contingent resignation, for its publication followed by an explicit denial could be the only possible antidote to the poison effected by its secret promulgation. As it is, believing as we do that the whole "opportunity" is a fraud, that there is no chance whatever of women securing the vote by means of the Bill, we believe exposure is a paramount duty, the non-performance of which would ruin the Suffrage movement.

Mr. Asquith is like a man who has offered to play against us a game of hazard, on the result of which our fate is to depend. He says to us: "You want to secure woman suffrage, I want to prevent it. I will agree to allow the matter to be decided by a vote in the House of Commons." But we see that the game is not going to be played fairly, we see that the dice are being loaded, and, seeing this, it is necessary for us to call out now, before the dice are thrown, and our cause adjudged lost. Our object in calling out is to induce the spectators of the game to insist upon examining the dice before the throw, so that when they find them to be loaded they may force Mr. Asquith to discard them and to substitute genuine dice in their place. If this be done, not only will the carefully-planned catastrophe for woman suffrage be brought to nothing, but a genuine victory will be won in its place.

THE RUNE OF BIRTH AND RENEWAL

By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

(A speech delivered in the Wharncliffe Rooms, December 17, 1912.)

We who are gathered here do not meet as human atoms blown together by a little wind of chance. Neither do we meet merely as personal friends.

A life force has taken hold of us and has welded us with all our different individualities into one, just as the tones and overtones in a musical scale are welded into one in some chord, or as words are welded in a line or a verse of a song.

We and many others who are present in our thoughts and whom we represent—we individually and collectively have been caught in the meshes of a Will that we may be used in the accomplishment of its purpose. By the decree of this Will, the time has come for a new birth of humanity, the hour has struck for the redemption of Woman from her age-long servitude, into the liberty of full human equality with Man, that she may fulfil with him the joint sacrifice and service that they owe to the human race.

In common we have seen this Vision that has changed our entire outlook upon the world. In common we have been subjugated by this Idea that has altered the trend and habit of our life. In common we have felt the compulsion of this Law that has brought us into association together and has made us part of a living pattern, woven by destiny in the loom of Time, to a rhythm and rune which is making the world's story. Moreover, we share a common wealth of deep experience. Most of us have, as a result of bearing witness to the faith that is in us, been through the ordeal of isolation or ridicule. We have been made to feel at one time or another, aliens in the world of everyday human life. Most of us have endured physical insult and violence. We have suffered assault and ignominy. Some of us have thrown aside position and place in the world and have sacrificed livelihood or career. Many amongst us are wearing, as I am, the prison badge with its broken chain. We are those who have been arrested; and in prison have taken our place at the very bottom of the human scale, side by side with the shamed and the outcast. We have tested our conviction in the living sepulchre of the prison cell. In order to keep the sword of our faith we have hungered to the point of exhaustion and have endured the final attempt to break down the will by the infliction of forcible feeding.

Yes, we have tasted, each in our own measure and degree, the bitter cup, and have found it sweet. In weakness we have discovered our strength, in loss we have found gain, in isolation we have realised our inviolate union with all sentient life, and in extremity we have seen the face of death transfigured for evermore. And this is our common revelation and our common inheritance.

We then, who saw in this Woman's Movement the promise of awakening and regeneration for the world, have, in giving ourselves up to become the channels of it, become ourselves awakened to a new fulness of life, have become ourselves regenerated.

Thus in the little circle of our own experience we have seen how the law that guides this Movement operates, we have seen how the bitterest foes have been used as the unconscious agents of deliverance, and how men of malignant purpose have been turned into blind tools for the shaping of history. In overcoming the obstacles that have been placed by enemies in its path, the Idea for which we stand has dominated the human consciousness of the world.

As it is in the small circle of our own experience so it is and must be in the ever extending spheres of the operation of this Movement. In all countries men and women will become its willing agents or its blind tools. It will meet with hatred, opposition, and betrayal. But in the eternal rune that is the story of the world it is by the very enemy and the betrayer that the law is accomplished and destiny fulfilled. One thing is absolutely certain. And that is the triumph of the Idea and its established victory in the evolution of the human life.

The word has gone forth. The rune of the awakening of the Soul of Womanhood has begun and will not end until in the visible world the strongholds of ignorance and materialism have been shaken to their foundations and overthrown, to give place to the new kingdom of the spirit which is to be established upon the earth.

We must look for destruction. The smashing of glass in West London last March was a symbol of deep significance. It was the breaking through of reality into a dream. It was the rending of the tomb by the bursting forth of the living spirit that had been imprisoned there. Our thoughts were of the resurrection, but the world saw only evidence of violence in the barriers broken down and the grave clothes tossed away. For the world does not see the risen spirit, yet is in mortal terror at the thought of it. It wants no new birth. It cares supremely for the stability of its old institutions which are menaced by new life. The world is right from its own self-interested point of view. Its fears are well grounded.

We must be prepared for the breaking up of the material substance of life before the spiritual force that is in this Movement. When the rune of destiny is being chanted the walls of palaces totter and the stones of the temples fall. We who have given ourselves up as willing agents of the Will that is behind the rune have to smash and be smashed. We must be ready both to break up and destroy material substance of things and also to acquiesce in the breaking up of the material substance of our own lives and even of our own bodies

To play the game, while conscious that the game is being played through us! That is the essence of our militancy. We live by faith, we serve by action. Militancy itself has become a living and a quickening force. None of us will ever know the countless multitude of men and women who have become alive to their own nobility through the glorious spirit that has been liberated in the world during the seven years of this Militant Movement for the Emancipation of Woman.

What this militant spirit means to humanity, and especially at this crisis to womanhood, was told in a wonderful parable a few days ago in VOTES FOR WOMEN. Nothing so beautiful or so true has been said of our Movement, as is said in that parable and the introductory comment upon it. The story tells how the transforming Spirit of Illumination has visited the ardent expectant soul, has been made one with it, leaving behind as his gift the transfiguring sword. And the soul awed and exultant sings:—

> "From now there shall be no fear left for me in this world and thou shalt be victorious in all my strife. Thou hast left death for my companion and I shall crown him with my life. The sword is with me to cut asunder my bonds, and there shall be no fear left for me in the world."

DANCE AND DRAMA

Folk Dancers

A warmly interested audience met in the small Queen's Hall, last week, to welcome the Espérance Guild of Morris Dancers, a welcome all the more enthusiastic because the dancers have by now danced their way into the hearts of the public. For seven years, as Miss Mary Neal in a few brief words reminded her audience, the Guild has been doing its work steadily and with increasing success. Some of the present performers have practically grown up with the Guild, dancing at least one night a week, and their appearance is certainly a conclusive testimony to the value of this training. With well set-up, lithe and active figures, they dance with a skill, an easy grace, and such evident enjoyment that it is a delight to watch them. In their quaint costumes one is transported to bygone days, when dancing was an important part of English national life and art—as it still is in some other countries—when English lads and lasses had their own dances and songs, and took a healthy joy in the invigorating pastime. Many of the steps are difficult and tiring, needing quick brain and nimble feet. Compared with these the feeble present-day polka and waltz, performed with languid bearing and slipshod steps or non-steps, seem indeed decadent and typical of racial degeneracy.

In a programme where everything is excellent, it is difficult to single out anything for special comment. The little folk are, of course, especially delightful in their singing games, in which they enter so entirely into the spirit of the dramatic action. They achieved an encore in "The Three Dukes." One could not imagine that "Morrises" were ever better danced, even in the "good old days." The dancing of the young men in the interesting "Sword Dance" and other men's dances was especially worthy of praise in its vigour and zest, combined with gracefulness. The "Bailiff's Daughter of Islington" was also of great interest in its less familiar setting.

In short, the whole entertainment was full of excellent things. In the absence of Mr. Clive Carey some folk songs were admirably sung by Mr. Stuart Wilson. Of particular interest was the old Carol, procured in the west of Cornwall, evidently part of some religious drama or ceremony. One can only hope that before long the Espérance Guild will penetrate to every village and town in England, reviving our old traditional dances and songs, and in each case starting a nucleus of health and happiness for the rising generation.

A Triple Bill

Unquestionably the strongest of the three plays presented by the Pioneer Players at the Little Theatre, last Sunday evening, was the one called "Honour thy Father." In this Mr. H. M. Harwood has chosen a very ugly theme and worked it out with brutal frankness. Nothing could well be more terrible than that the false pride of a spendthrift father should force a daughter secretly to sell herself on the streets in order to provide money for the upkeep of her home and the education of her younger sister; and only the excellent acting of Miss Hilda Moore, as the daughter, and of Mr. J. Fisher White, as the father, kept the play from being repulsive. The crudity of the climax, where the father, after an outburst of pious parental wrath, accepts his child's horrible earnings in order to pay his landlady, and goes off to a café to spend the change, is due rather to the limitations of a one-act play than to lack of skill on the part of the playwright. Pleasant or unpleasant, Mr. Harwood's play was one to set the audience thinking, and that on a subject intimately connected with women's enfranchisement.

The other two plays in the bill failed signally to do this. "Beastie," by Mr. Hugh de Selincourt, is a sentimental episode of a dreadfully young married couple, and an applicant for the post of nurse, whom the two manage between them to insult pretty badly, though it was not clear to Sunday's audience whether this was the impression meant to be conveyed by the author or not. The impersonations both of husband and wife were unconvincing; Miss Frances Vine, always good, made the very best of a bad part and played the nurse admirably.

"The Thumbscrew," by the Honourable Mrs. Lyttleton, has very little action in it to justify the interminable conversations on economic problems, which form the main substance of the play. These take place in the miserable setting of a one-room tenement, where a whole family is carding hooks and eyes at ninepence a gross of cards. There is a great deal about sweating and emigration and women blacklegs, but what the play actually is meant to prove was not made clear on Sunday evening. One strongly suspected that the play did not give the actors much of a chance; but it was equally clear that, with the brilliant exception of Miss Margaret Yarde, who played the middlewoman, Mrs. Muggle, the actors did not do as much justice as might have been done to the play.

Miss Margaret Morris

The programme announced by Miss Margaret Morris for her forthcoming season at the Court Theatre is specially arranged for little children. It includes "Monday's Child," by Dora Bright, with Kate Greenaway costumes designed by Miss Morris; "Cinderella," done entirely by children, with that dainty little Suffragette, Iris Rowe, as the fairy godmother, and the ugly sisters, "more ugly in their minds than in their faces"; and "Old People Young Again" (for grown-ups). The first matinée will be at 2.30 on Saturday, December 28, and Miss Morris hopes to have daily matinées throughout January.

REFORMING THE PRISONS

A Courageous Report—Severe Indictment of Forcible Feeding

The fifth Annual Report just issued by the Penal Reform League is full of interesting facts for Suffragists, especially for those who have broken the law for the sake of the cause. The opening words of the Report state that owing to certain happenings in English and Irish prisons, this year "has been a time of gloom and humiliation for the would-be penal reformer."

"Orgies in Prison"

Under this heading, the Report proceeds to deal as follows with the shameful process of forcible feeding as practised in our prisons in 1912:—"We understand that some 95 prisoners have been forcibly fed in prisons in England and Ireland from April to September. Now we have no wish to intervene in the game of 'pull devil pull baker' that has been going on between the Government and the militant Suffragists; but the atmosphere of our prisons and the burdens laid upon prison officers are matters of legitimate concern to this League. Therefore we feel bound to say that in our opinion prison is no place for forcible feeding. Wrestling with and tying down prisoners to force food down their throats or nostrils should form no part of the duty of prison officers. Even if it were right to ask prison officers to do such things, it must be remembered that prisons are secret places closed from public view and knowledge, so that it is particularly important to put them as nearly as possible beyond all suspicion of questionable practices.

"It has been said that the authorities were placed in a great difficulty by the 'hunger strike' of the Suffragist prisoners. So it seems; but it need not have been so. It was a matter for the medical officer of the prison to deal with, and, at the risk of seeming presumptuous, we will state what we think should be done when a prisoner refuses to take food. First of all, enquiry should be made into the cause. If the cause can reasonably be removed, this should be done—and this has been done on some occasions. If there is a grievance which does not seem legitimate, or no grievance at all, then good appetising food should be left with the prisoner, without any tactless attempts at coercion or persuasion. If the prisoner tastes the food no remark should be made. If the 'hunger strike' is persisted in, the medical officer should recommend the prisoner's removal to a civil hospital or other suitable place before serious danger is incurred; the sentence to be finished on recovery. It should not be impossible to devise measures to secure completion of sentence when necessary."

The Prison Doctor

The position of the prison medical officer is well stated, as follows:—

"It may be said that medical officers have had instructions or recommendations from higher authority. But in the matter of the health of prisoners it is not for higher authority to dictate to the medical officer on the spot, but to follow his recommendations. We know that one medical officer who received a letter recommending a certain course in case of a 'hunger strike,' intimated to his governor that he was the medical officer of that prison, and that he intended to put the letter into the waste-paper basket. But it has also been stated on good authority that in the English prison service a medical officer who refused to 'forcibly feed' would run the risk of losing his post. We do not believe that a medical officer who had the strength of mind to obey his own conscience and opinion in the matter would have been dismissed. Whether he would have forfeited official favour or promotion is more doubtful. But the fact remains that medical officers in various English prisons and in Ireland seem to have tamely obeyed some order or hint from above. Nor do governors appear to have refused, as surely they might have done, to allow their officers to be employed in this objectionable way. Certainly there is something rotten in the state of Denmark! Good men and true enter a Government service and tend to become invertebrate. Lack of backbone is a bad fault in men who have to deal with criminals, for they need above all strength of character, and sympathy and judgment, and freedom to exercise these in their own way."

Mention is also made of "a number of educated and articulate prisoners, not belonging to the 'criminal class,'" who have this year been in women's prisons, "including even the Aylesbury Convict Prison," and of the "number of interesting accounts of personal experience, which reveal, if they are to be trusted, an unsatisfactory state of affairs."

Grim Statistics

The Report deals very frankly with the limitations of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and gives, incidentally, the following grim statistics of prostitution:—"The number of so-called prostitutes in London is variously estimated at from 40,000 to 90,000 or thereabouts. The average life of the women whilst so engaged is said to be about five years. From these figures (though no one knows the correct ones) it would appear that London requires a fresh supply of anything from 8,000 to 18,000 women of this kind every year. That number evidently will not offer themselves voluntarily. But the supply is kept up in various ways. Poverty, dulness, misfortunes—many causes help to increase the supply. It is no good pointing the finger at employers who under-pay their employees, at parents and mistresses who make things dull at home, at divines who do not understand true religion. We are all inculpated. We all help to swell the number of these unfortunates. As Mr. Bernard Shaw says in the *Awakener* for November 16, 'The wages of prostitution are stitched into your button-holes and into your blouse, pasted into your matchboxes and your boxes of pins, stuffed into your mattress, mixed with the paint on your walls, and stuck between the joints of your water-pipes.'"

Women Higher Officials

One of the most interesting passages in the Report refers to the necessity for appointing women to the higher posts in women's prisons, points to the example of Berlin and of certain American towns in placing women's prisons in charge of a woman, and mentions the Committee of the Federation of University Women which is pushing forward this reform. That women officials are needed in the police courts as well as in the prisons is made evident by that section of the Report that deals with juvenile offenders. "In the meantime," it says, "the so-called Children's Courts about the country are muddling along with the problems that face them. In some cases they are an improvement on what went before, in some—or at least one or two Courts—experienced persons seem to think they are even the reverse. The lack of careful investigation, the ill use or utter neglect of the probation system and the facilities it offers for assisting and reconstructing homes, the ignorance of child psychology and of the conditions of child life betrayed by the behaviour of some magistrates are verily lamentable."

A Gruesome Instance

A gruesome instance of the failure to investigate child cases properly is that given from Scotland, where a young girl, who ran away from home because she overheard her demented parents plotting to poison their children (a plan they afterwards put into effect), was treated as an insubordinate, and was sent from one reformatory establishment to another.

Out of 3,145 cases of juvenile offenders taken, the Report states, "at random from various parts of the country, 2,977 were boys, 160 were girls, and 8 were described as children or juveniles." The greater propensity to crime in the enfranchised sex therefore appears to show itself at an early age!

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PENAL REFORM IN GERMANY

In connection with the above Report, which should be read by every Suffragist (it is published at the offices of the Penal Reform League, 1, Harrington Square, London, N.W.), it is interesting to note that the new Government measure for the establishment of juvenile Courts in Germany provides advocates or assistants for the defence of children who are charged with severe misdemeanours, and that *women as well as men will be eligible* for these appointments. The special juries in such cases will consist of men only, but these will at least be drawn from school teachers and others who have expert knowledge in the training of children.

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PENAL REFORMERS IN CONFERENCE

In the Upper Caxton Hall last Friday night, matters nearly affecting our national life, and of particular interest to militant Suffragists, were dealt with at the annual meeting of the Penal Reform League. Sir John Macdonell, referring to the White Slave Traffic Act, described the crime at which that measure aims as one more hideous than that of many murderers, and pointed out that the evil lay deeper than many seemed to think. "You cannot buy out crime by grants of money," declared the speaker; "these things will only be remedied when we have individual man dealing with individual man, and individual woman dealing with individual woman."

In the course of his speech, Dr. Cobb, dealing with the subject of Forcible Feeding, declared that no earthly power had any right to inflict torture likely to diminish self-respect. He protested against the blind policy of flogging procurers and then letting them loose again to do their vile works, and went on to say that, until we had purged our own conscience, it ill-behoved us to cast hard words at that towards which we felt no temptation.

Dr. Frances Ede made a strong protest against leaving the reforming of the "outcasts" of society in the hands of men prison governors, who could know nothing of the position of the women entrusted to their care. If Suffragists who understood the law and had the power to publish their wrongs were treated as they had been, what must be the lot, she asked, of these women to whom no other road is open but to suffer in silence?

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PRISON BELLS

Every law-breaker, Suffragist or otherwise, who has been in prison, knows what it is to ring the electric bell that is fitted in every prison cell, and then to wait in vain for an answer to it. They will be glad to know, therefore, that the following letter appeared in the *Times* last Saturday:

Sir,—Among the questions raised in the House of Commons yesterday with regard to Camp Hill Prison, Isle of Wight, I notice that Mr. Douglas Hall asked whether it was not a fact that "there had been serious complaints by the convicts that their bells were not answered when they were rung."

The question was greeted with roars of laughter by members, who were evidently under the impression that cell bells were used for the purposes of ordering coffee and cigars or some other tempting luxury! As a matter of fact, as ex-prisoners like myself have reason to know, bells are placed in prisoners' cells for a certain definite purpose, and if they are out of order, or if no attention is paid to them by the warders for a long time, a very great hardship is inflicted upon prisoners, and even serious ill-health may result. If it be a fact that the convicts in Camp Hill Prison are correctly complaining that no attention is paid to the bells, it is a matter which needs the prompt investigation of the authorities.—Yours, &c.,

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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DEATH FROM FORCIBLE FEEDING.

The defence put up more than once in the House of Commons by the Home Secretary, when challenged on the dangers of forcible feeding as applied to Suffragists in prison, has been that the danger, if any, arose from the resistance of those who were subjected to the process. Even this defence, poor as it is, breaks down before the evidence afforded in the case of a death from forcible feeding which occurred at Letterkenny Lunatic Asylum last week. A lunatic named James McGavigan refused to take his supper one evening, and his breakfast the next morning. The physician, after trying to induce him to take food naturally, then fed him with the nasal tube. The patient afterwards became unconscious, and a quarter of an hour later the attendant sent for the doctor, who returned to find the man dead. "Death from heart failure" was the verdict returned at the inquest, and in the evidence, as reported, it is stated that the patient did not resist the forcible feeding.

THE HAUNTED CABINET MINISTER

MR. RUNCIMAN AT KINGSWAY HALL

One of the most noticeable features of Cabinet Ministers' meetings, in these days of militancy, is the way in which the promoters of the meetings always seem to arrange an appropriate setting for the Suffragist interruptions that are bound to occur as soon as the principal speaker gets on his feet. At the Kingsway Hall last week, for instance, where Mr. Runciman was to give an inaugural address to the Wesleyan Mission, the usual situation was led up to by such hymns as "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "Fight the Good Fight." Inspirited by this militant opening, a middle-aged man (described picturesquely in a morning paper as "a pale-faced youth") rose to his feet simultaneously with the Minister for Agriculture, and reminded him of his duty to voteless women.

Unfortunately, the warlike hymns seemed to have fired equally the Liberals present, who saw no reason for counting women as part of the human race, with a claim to human rights; and a number of stewards at once made it their business to eject the man who disagreed with them, and to do it with as much force as possible. The same warlike zeal was shown when a second member of the audience rose at the back of the hall, and shouted indignantly to Mr. Runciman to "Answer that question!" Mr. Runciman may or may not have wished to obey this reasonable suggestion, but his followers again made it impossible by throwing out the questioner with a violence that caused his arm to be badly hurt. Another, who attempted to suggest that women were crying out for justice, had his clothes badly torn in the course of the struggle that preceded his expulsion, and a fourth received a blow in the face for mentioning the demand of women for enfranchisement. The interruptions continued until several men had been flung out of the meeting, and it was only when no one was left in the hall who wanted to see Liberal principles carried into practice, that Mr. Runciman was able to proceed with his discourse.

It really would be better to choose more soothing hymns—such as "Peace, perfect Peace," for instance, as an introduction to a Cabinet Minister's speech. Anti-Suffrage members of the Cabinet would probably prefer "A few more years shall roll."

LORD CREWE AT BOURNEMOUTH

No hymns appear to have been sung at the Liberal mass meeting at Bournemouth last week, when the Earl of Crewe was the principal speaker. This may have accounted for the unusual absence of violence shown when the women who put forward their demand for justice were taken out of the hall. The utmost excitement prevailed among the audience, however, every time that a woman's voice was heard forcing the claims of voteless women upon the attention of the meeting and of the statesman who was attempting to address it. The commotion increased so much with each successive interruption that Lord Crewe at last took the unusual step of expressing a hope that "nobody will be asked or persuaded, still less compelled, to leave this room unless it is found that their presence here makes the carrying on of this meeting impossible."

Later in the meeting, when a woman in the audience was being ejected amid the usual hysterical confusion, though without the usual brutality, Earl Crewe remarked that "these ladies obviously felt it was their duty to make these interjections, however much they disliked it." The enthusiastic Liberal who called out, "They're not married, my lord," evidently intended to make a hit of some kind, but it was not particularly obvious to the intelligent portion of the audience.

"The first matter I wish to speak about," continued his Lordship, "is ——"

Naturally, this golden opportunity was taken by a lady, and one, too, who was sitting to the right of the platform. Her position was such a safe one that she managed not only to finish the speaker's sentence for him, but also to make a short speech on Votes for Women, before the stewards succeeded in reaching her.

When peace was finally restored, the meeting having been "purged" of all Suffragists worthy of the name, Earl Crewe went on with his speech, and in the course of it said (though not apropos of Votes for Women) that he wished he could believe that when they asked the watchman on the tower, "Will the night soon pass, the night of mistrust and suspicion?" they would get the reply that he could see the dawn of the day.

When will these Cabinet Ministers learn that the only members of their audience who really hold these noble views on Liberal principles are those who have been put outside the door?

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FROM SOUTH AFRICA

The stiff-necked Asquith, Edward Grey,
  Lloyd George, and Johnny Burns,
McKenna, Churchill, Samuels, all
  Get ague fits in turns.

They travel in all kinds of ways,
  With hosts of tecs. and warders,
They bolt down drains, and climb up trees
  To dodge the girl marauders.

They wear false wigs and dye their hair,
  And hide themselves in hampers,
And if one hears a female voice,
  He quickly turns and scampers.

And will these women ne'er leave off
  Till o'er each corpse they're gloating?
Good gracious, no, they merely want
  (Like men) a chance of voting.

* * * * * *

Go, search your histories to find
  Where men of such high station
Descended to such low down tricks
  E'en in a barbarous nation.

—Eastwood and Kimberley Advertiser.

THE MILITANT AGITATION

Five Arrests—Warrant Out Against a Sixth

In the House of Commons on Monday, December 16, Mr. Peto asked the Postmaster-General whether he could make arrangements for firms, companies, and individuals who required to post large numbers of letters at the same time to have facilities for handing them in direct at the Post Office instead of putting them in the ordinary pillar and other letter-boxes, and thus save the time both of the public and the postmen, particularly in view of the risk of damage to correspondence deposited in the pillar-boxes which at present exists?

Mr. Herbert Samuel: Any batch of letters for the post can, under the ordinary regulations, be collected from the sender's premises if the postage amounts to £10, and if reasonable notice is given beforehand. Generally special arrangements are made where any considerable quantity of letters is being regularly sent by any one person. In view of the fact that, according to the reports that have at present reached me, not a single letter has been destroyed in the recent malicious attempts upon pillar-boxes, I do not consider that the circumstances require the imposition upon the counter staff of the additional work which would be involved by the adoption of the hon. member's suggestion.

The Press has throughout the week reported attacks on pillar-boxes in various parts of the country, including Manchester, where the boxes selected were apparently in and around the business area; Leicester, Reading, and Tunbridge Wells (where all the letter-boxes are stated to have been attacked).

In London the districts from which similar attacks are reported include Throgmorton Street, Chiswick, Lewisham, Deptford, Forest Gate, Camberwell, and Putney.

Four Arrests

On Tuesday night the police made four arrests, and on Wednesday Miss Louisa Gay, Miss Grace Mitchell, Miss Mary Billinghurst, and Miss Grace Ferrar were charged with placing fluid in pillar-boxes. The first three were charged at Greenwich Police Court (Miss Billinghurst going into the dock on crutches), and all were remanded on bail. In the case of Miss Gay, the prosecuting counsel, Mr. MacIntyre, opposed bail, saying that there had been thirty or forty outrages committed on the previous night. The magistrate allowed bail in two sureties of £5 each.

Miss Ferrar came before Mr. Baggallay at Lambeth. Mr. Alsop, who prosecuted, said he was instructed that she was a Suffragist. An accountant, Mr. Percy Gardiner, who saw a black fluid running from under the door, was stated to have followed Miss Ferrar and informed a constable, who took her to the station. She was searched, and it was stated that two foolscap envelopes were found, each containing a glass phial with black liquid, and three other foolscap envelopes.

Mr. Baggallay: One, I see, is addressed to "D. Lloyd George, Esq., House of Commons."

Miss Ferrar said the letter she posted was addressed to a friend in Croydon, and that she told the officer so at the time.

Mr. Baggallay directed a remand, but offered to accept bail in £50.

At Glasgow

The apertures of several postal pillar-boxes in Glasgow were on Wednesday found to have been covered up with gummed paper, on which was written: "Danger. Don't post here, but give votes to women. No peace till then." A similar notice was posted up at the door of the Northern District Post Office. A young man was detained on suspicion in connection with the affair.

MISS KITTY MARION'S CASE

On Tuesday evening Miss Kitty Marion was arrested for breaking the glass of a fire alarm at the corner of Bow Street and Russell Street, Covent Garden. It was stated that firemen with five engines responded to the call. When charged at Bow Street Police Court on Wednesday morning, Miss Marion said that three years ago she broke a window to call the attention of the Government to the conditions under which many women were living; her action on Tuesday was, similarly, to wake the public to a sense of their responsibility for these conditions. She proceeded:—

"Then the Irish women were betrayed in the Home Rule Bill, and I made up my mind that when I was free to do so I would make a protest. I intended to make a much stronger protest than I have done, but my friends of the Women's Social and Political Union begged me not to do so. I therefore contented myself with simply metaphorically turning the hose on the Government to turn them out."

The magistrate imposed a fine of £25, or, in default, one month's imprisonment.

Mr. Marsham: Can you pay the fine, or have you any goods?

The Defendant: No; and if I had twenty million pounds I would not pay.

She was sentenced to one month in the second division.

OTHER FIRE ALARMS

False alarms of fire are reported from Bristol, says the *Daily Chronicle*, three evening calls having been received at the Central Station within the space of a few minutes. The *Evening News* for Monday last says:—"A false alarm of fire—presumably the work of Suffragettes—was received by the brigade to-day from the Wool Exchange."

A WARRANT ISSUED

At Wealdstone Petty Sessions last Tuesday, Mr. Hugh A. Franklin, of 35, Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W., was charged with causing danger to passengers travelling on a Great Central Railway train to Harrow by setting fire to the compartment in which he was travelling on October 25.

The defendant did not appear, but a young man who said he was a friend of the defendant's handed in a letter addressed to the chairman of the Bench or the clerk, which was not read to the court, but a copy was handed to the Press. In the course of the letter, the writer said:—

"As suffragist rebels, we consider that under present circumstances certain definite forms of action must be taken in order that the Government may be forced to give votes for women, one of them being to cause the Government as much trouble as we possibly can. It is not, therefore, my intention voluntarily to attend your court to-morrow, and if the Government still wish the prosecution to persist in this charge against me, then the only means by which they can secure my presence is to issue a warrant for my arrest and so force me to appear."

Mr. Bole, who appeared for the company, formally applied for a warrant for the defendant's arrest.

William Bartholomew, porter-guard, gave evidence to finding a man in the compartment, which burst into flames as the occupant opened the door and jumped out. He tried to get away, but witness prevented him. The man had hold of the door with one hand, and with a stick in his other flicked the flame on the carriage seat as though to stir it up.

The Chairman: You do not think he was trying to put it out?—No, sir.

The Bench granted a warrant.

EJECTION FROM DALSTON MEETING

Summons against Liberal Steward

We stated in our issue of December 13 that charges of assault would probably be brought against the stewards at Mr. Redmond's meeting, and this has now happened in the case of one Edward Vaughan, who was summoned last Tuesday at the North London Police Court by Mr. Oscar James Evans, a furniture manufacturer, for assault at the Dalston Theatre on December 7.

Mr. Margetts said that his client was anxious to hear Mr. Redmond's views, and paid 1s. for a ticket of admission to the theatre. Almost directly after he got to his seat two ladies, who were admittedly suffragists, were ejected from the meeting with considerable violence. Although Mr. Evans had no sympathy whatever with the suffragist movement——

Mr. Hedderwick. A cause which has become a craze.

Mr. Margetts said that might be so. His client was moved to speak to the stewards because of their violence to the women. Another set of stewards, of whom the present defendant was one, rushed upon him, seized him by the arms and legs, and carried him out of the building, unceremoniously throwing him into the street. Blood was drawn from one ear and one arm, and the complainant's clothing was badly damaged. The complainant had some difficulty in getting the name and address of the defendant, and the constable to whom he appealed said that he ought to be satisfied with the name and address of one man. He wished to get the names and addresses of the six men who had thrown him out.

William J. Richards, of Manor Place, Hackney, swore that the defendant was not engaged in the ejection of the complainant.

Mr. Hedderwick said if what Vaughan and Richards had said was true, a mistake must have been made with regard to the defendant. The summons against him would be dismissed, but other summonses would be granted against men who had been identified in court as stewards concerned.

A PRESS OPINION

Making Up His Mind

The opinion is expressed in more than one quarter that the Home Secretary will speedily have to make up his mind as to whether all criminals who adopt the "hunger strike" are to be treated alike. This problem has been forced to the front by the latest Suffragist outrages in various parts of the country; and Mr. M'Kenna is not unlikely to be asked in the House of Commons whether preferential treatment has not been accorded to Suffragist prisoners who attempt suicide by starvation methods over others who have tried to follow the example. The matter, indeed, is becoming urgent for our prison authorities, for if females, condemned for whatever offence, are taught by example that a fortnight's semi-starvation secures release from a sentence of penal servitude, there will be an end to our present punitive system. The Home Secretary is held by many to have been too lenient, and cases that promise now to be pending may provide him with a concrete test.—**Northern Daily Telegraph.**

If this were a mustard pot on your table, it would be the first thing to ask for directly the meat is served.

It is just as necessary to have a touch of mustard on your plate as it is to have a knife and fork in your hands.

Colman's Mustard puts a keen edge on the appetite; it intensifies the flavour of the meat; ensures a sound digestion and increases the enjoyment of the meal.

Be sure it's

Colman's D.S.F. Mustard

Don't leave it in the mustard pot—use it!

S.H.B.

WILL THE HATCHET BE BURIED?

Mrs. Leigh's Case

Our special Dublin correspondent, to whom we owe the report we were able to publish last week of the hearing of the hatchet charge against Mrs. Leigh, has sent us the following account of the Judge's summing-up and the finding of the jury:—

Judge Gibson, in summing-up, expressed his regret that Mrs. Leigh was not defended by counsel; had she been, or had she said nothing, she might have left the court free. The evidence of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond might have been of assistance; but had he deemed it essential he would have adjourned the court and enforced their attendance at whatever inconvenience. The court, he said, had no concern with motives till the question of punishment came up. He also dwelt on the inaccuracy of Marshal O'Brien's evidence. The Crown case was so involved in difficulties that the jury would have been justified in acquitting but for the defendant's own statement. She was a clever, earnest, and a good woman in her own way, an attractive and fluent speaker, any jury must be impressed by her defence. But if she threw the hatchet she ought to be convicted. Their verdict must not be influenced by any opinions on Woman Suffrage. Terror was the worst argument; men would be poor creatures who obeyed dictates of fear. There was no country where women were so dear to men as in Ireland. The injury might have been terrible; he did not think Mrs. Leigh realised its possible seriousness. He commented strongly on the fact that she was not arrested on the spot; what were the police doing during the struggle? Referring to Judge Madden's sentence, he said it was unfortunate that the two cases were not tried together by the same judge. The case would then have been easy of solution in point of fact, but was difficult at a later stage. Trying this case had caused him great distress.

After a retirement of nearly an hour, the jury returned and said they could not agree as to malice. The Judge defined the legal meaning of "malicious wounding," and explained that if the defendant threw the hatchet, even recklessly, and it hit anyone, that was in law a case of maliciously injuring.

The jury retired for another half-hour, and then returned and said they could not agree. Mr. Bushe (Crown Prosecutor) tried to get an admission that they were agreed as to the throwing of the hatchet, while not agreeing as to malice; but, when questioned by the Judge, the foreman said they could not agree on any of the counts of the indictment.

Judge Gibson: Is there any use in carrying this case further?

Mr. Bushe said that would be a matter to consider.

The Judge: I am not going to try the case again. And if it is to come before any other judge, he should certainly have a copy of my notes, to show the contradictions of the witnesses, which are material.

Mr. Bushe said that the Crown was willing to admit her to bail. The Judge suggested that her own bail would be sufficient, and Mr. Bushe agreed. She was then bound over, in her own recognisances of £50, to come up for trial at the next Commission, in February, ("I'll not extend it to any later Commission," said the Judge), on receiving ten days' notice, which is to be left for her at the house of Dr. Katherine Maguire, where she has been staying since her release from Mountjoy Prison.

The Judge again urged Mr. Bushe to consider the advisability of proceeding no further with the case. Mr. Bushe replied, "That will be for those, whose orders I obey, to consider."

Mrs. Leigh then asked that the police should be directed not to molest her if, in the meantime, she desired to visit her friends in England. The Judge said he had no power over the terms of her licence, but if she applied to the Lord Lieutenant, she might secure what she wanted. Mr. Bushe then said that the police would not interfere with her on her way back to her residence, "nor while she remains there." Mrs. Leigh said that so long as the police kept the peace towards her, she would keep it towards them.

(From the "Irish Citizen.")

In spite of the repeated postponements, the Crown still failed to produce Mr. John Redmond, the person who, according to their case, was injured by the hatchet. The Crown case, as presented in court after all these months of incubation, was a mass of inconsistencies, on which the judge found it necessary repeatedly to make strong comment. In summing up, in fact, Judge Gibson said that, on the Crown case alone, it would probably be the duty of the jury to acquit, and he regretted that she had not been defended by counsel, as her own statement, that she "put"—not "threw"—the hatchet into the carriage was the only clear evidence connecting her with it. The only witness who swore that he saw her throw it was the Marshal, O'Brien, whose evidence was a mass of contradictions. Mrs. Leigh was found by him close to the carriage, holding the traces; while two policemen swore that the hatchet came, a moment before, from some distance, over the heads of a dense crowd. Another point on which all the evidence was confused was as to who picked up the hatchet. Judge Gibson was moved to quote, "What is truth, said jesting Pilate," by the extraordinary contradictions on this point. We trust the last has now been heard of this case. Judge Gibson's strong advice in that sense can hardly be disregarded by the Crown. Mrs. Leigh's eloquence and earnestness have, in any event, scored another triumph.

OUR POST BOX

Votes for Women Fellowship

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—When I last wrote to you it was to say I had persuaded twelve friends to take a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN regularly. You expressed your pleasure at my mentioning this, so I thought it would interest you to know I have now twenty-eight weekly subscribers to the paper, and, in consequence, two posters showing, and negotiating to get out another, as for every twelve papers guaranteed sale at a newsagent's I get a poster exhibited. The way I have been able to increase the number of subscribers is by asking those who take the paper if they could direct me to others who would probably do the same, and thus the number has grown. Canvassing in this way has proved very interesting work, and I think it is worth mentioning that thirteen out of the twenty-eight subscribers have taken the paper simply because it has no Suffrage Society behind it, and is independent. Another advantage one has in calling upon people is one can often remove a difficulty. One lady said she "used to take the papers regularly until a few weeks back, but had since drifted." When she gave her reason, I assured her we all deeply missed our Treasurer, and longed to have her with us again in personal touch, speaking, helping, and encouraging us. Yet as it appears at present not possible, it is for us to keep in touch with her through the paper. Needless to say, she has taken it again. Another lady was persuaded with some difficulty to take the paper. On my calling upon her last week she remarked she "quite enjoyed reading it, and looked forward weekly to receiving it."

Succeeding with the paper, I thought I would try and get twelve new members for the Fellowship, and hoped by so doing each in their turn would produce twelve more. Starting with my friends again, I found many only waiting to be asked, and it has been my pleasure to send twelve names in. Each has promised to push the paper, some are buying extra copies and sending them to friends. One lady, when asked, said she "would gladly join the Fellowship because she felt it was a debt she owed the paper for the pleasure it had always afforded her." I mention this, because I feel it is the prevailing reason why many are willing to help in its circulation.

Thus we of the Fellowship will go forward, until (using the words of Tennyson),

> "We plant a solid foot into the Time,
> And mould a generation strong to move,
> With chain on chain from right to right, till she
> (The woman-phantom, she that seemed no more
> Than the man's shadow in a glass, her name
> Yoked in his mouth with children's) know herself
> And knowledge in our own land make her free."

—Yours, &c.,

R. FLORENCE HARRIS.

99, Mattison Road, Harringay, N.

Will you please enrol me in the list of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship? I am paying for a board to be made to be placed outside the shop here to exhibit our poster. It is quite a new idea, exhibiting a poster on a board outside, in this little Highland village fifty miles from a railway.—(M.K.)

I enclose subscription for your poster fund, and shall be so very glad if you will let me join the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, even though I cannot do very much to help. Still, I shall be delighted to do what I can. I sell your paper from house to house as well as THE SUFFRAGETTE, and am sending a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN each week to two friends, one in London and one in South Africa. I am also trying, and shall continue to try, to get as many as I possibly can to join the Fellowship.—(A. F.)

I would be so grateful if you would allow me to join the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. I get your weekly paper, and I am reading it always with the greatest interest.—(From Germany.)

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St. Paul and the Position of Women

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—The matter of the opening sentence of the Rev. Percy Dearmer's article on "St. Paul and the Position of Women," seems to me so very incorrect that one is led to doubt the truth of other statements and conclusions in his very able article; which is a pity. The words in question are: "It is agreed by historians that Christianity has worked throughout the Christian centuries for the emancipation of women." Whatever rôle in this matter Christianity may have played in more recent times, I think there can be little doubt that its advent and progress during the first few centuries were distinctly injurious to the woman's social and economic position. Under the Roman Pagan Empire the legal position of women was quite good; there was complete equality between the sexes in divorce, and the married woman had perfect control over her own property, and was recognised as the equal parent of her children. The marriage tie was, however, very loose, and husband or wife could very easily repudiate one another, a fact which gave rise to great scandal. Partly, no doubt, on this account, but also because of the great state of luxury in which society lived, and the existence of an immense class of slaves brought from the various conquered countries, Rome was steeped in profligacy and corruption. Then Christianity came—the only religion that preached morality as well as devotion. It appealed especially to the women, who recognised the necessity for a purer state of society; indeed, it was through the immense numbers of female converts that Christianity was enabled to prevail over Paganism. Unfortunately, however, for the women, the reaction against the previously existing corruption and profligacy was too severe, and they gradually lost the good social position that had been theirs under the Pagan Empire. The early fathers preached Asceticism as being the most necessary virtue for a Christian, and where Asceticism is preached, there is always a low ideal of conjugal life, and women are looked upon only as temptations to the virtuous man. So that it is quite wrong to say that Christianity has always worked for the emancipation of women; indeed, it has only been since the introduction of the Virgin Mary as an object of devotion that the Church may be said to have begun to work in this way. This, at least, is my reading of history. May I refer the Rev. P. Dearmer to the last chapter of that most interesting work, Lecky's "History of European Morals"? He will find there that the position of women in society is not good or bad in proportion to the morality of society—barbarous people may be quite moral—their position is good or bad as civilization is high or low.

So that I take the liberty to disagree with those ladies who imply that anti-Suffragists must be immoral. They are only uncivilised, poor things!—Yours, &c.,

Birmingham. E. D. KIRBY, M.D.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I was much interested in the Rev. Percy Dearmer's article in your paper. In August, 1889, I had one in the *Westminster Review*, "Liberty of the Subject (Female)," on similar lines, in which I tried to show that St. Paul did all he could for women in the days when to preach their liberty or the ending of any form of slavery, would have set men against the new and tender faith. And though, with an Oriental view of woman, he places her in the position of the erring church, and to man gives the rôle of the unselfish, self-sacrificing Christ (not quite the idea we should form of their characteristics), yet the very position assigned to each safeguarded the sex. If woman was to obey, man was to abnegate. Is that the line of conduct men see marked out by the Marriage Service? Rather, they have made it their defence for tyranny, and the Law has upheld them. I heard a Syrian lady once say at a meeting that the word "speak" should have been translated "chatter," and she described how, in Eastern churches still, the ignorant, uneducated women kept asking their husbands, "What is this? What is that?" I believe also that "guide" should be in other places substituted for "rule."—Yours, &c., N. ARLING.

P.S.—Some years ago there were painful letters in the papers against women singing in choirs because "they were forbidden to speak!"

A CALL TO MEN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—It is the honest opinion of many men that the women, in the adoption of a certain line of action, have greatly jeopardised their chances of success. Whether that be so or not is a question of policy into which I cannot now enter, but this, at least, is clear, that the women have done these things because they thought that only thus could they move men to take a sufficient interest in their fight for Justice.

Out of all the hysteria which has manifested itself on the part of the opposition during the militant Suffrage campaign, one fact emerges with perfect clearness, namely, that the intensity of action among the Militants is the direct outcome of inaction among sympathisers of both sexes. Men who disapprove of militancy should fight with equal ardour upon lines which they themselves endorse.

Beyond all doubt the women have put up a splendid fight; beyond all doubt, if Liberty can only be bought at a great price, that price has already been paid, and it now becomes the first duty of men to see that that which is purchased at so high cost shall not at the last be denied. For in this struggle women have endured suffering, death, and that dark agony of the outraged soul before which even death seems of small account.

Confronted with this demand for Freedom, Liberals have thrown to the winds all the professions which, when out of power, they made. Those who asked peacefully for their enfranchisement have been met with slights and gross deceit; those who asked persistently, with brutality and outrage.

When it can be shown, as, beyond all doubt, in this instance it can be shown, that a Government has met acts of peace with laughter, acts of urgency with hate and cruelty, when, in short, we are confronted with a Cabinet such as we have to-day, it becomes the part of every honest man to see that no longer in the councils of the Nation shall that body hold the predominant voice.

It is for this reason that we are calling upon men of all parties to join the Men's Political Union, the members of which are pledged to oppose any Government which does not deal fairly with the Woman Suffrage question. This fight will be won, but whether soon or only after more strife and more suffering on the part of women, it has now become the duty, the almost awful duty, of the manhood of the country to determine.—Yours, &c.,

CHARLES GRAY.

18, Buckingham Street, Strand.

RECEPTION TO MR. AND MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence met with a splendid reception last Tuesday evening at the Wharncliffe Rooms, which were thronged from end to end with a great crowd of supporters who came to do them honour for their services to the Suffrage movement. A spontaneous outburst of applause and cheering greeted their entry into the room, and this was renewed later, when, after a pleasant hour or so spent in meeting old and new comrades, the guests of the evening mounted the platform and were "introduced" (a word which aroused much laughter) by Mrs. Israel Zangwill. Mrs. Lawrence then made a speech on the spirit of the movement (which will be found on page 183), and Mr. Lawrence gave a clear exposition of the present Parliamentary position.

Mrs. Zangwill, in a witty speech which was at the same time full of feeling, paid a warm tribute to the services rendered to the cause by the two people they had all met to honour. She foresaw the time when prison would be the only place fit for a respectable woman. (Laughter.) Touching a graver note in speaking of the hunger strike, she told how she had heard that, on the release of the Suffragist Leaders from prison, the Dublin male convicts also tried to determine their own sentences by means of the hunger strike—"but not one of them was able to put it through." This disproved the newspaper contention that the ordinary prisoner would adopt the hunger strike in order to get out of prison. "It was too unpopular a weapon for popular use." The speaker, after dwelling on "the awful torture of forcible feeding" and defining torture as "useless pain uselessly inflicted," went on to speak of the gratitude felt to Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, a gratitude "that was not free from a sense of favours to come." They were reformers, and reformers can no more be stopped than they can be started. "Reformers are born, not made," and all true reformers entered into that kingdom of sacrifice and suffering of which the man and woman on the platform held the title deeds.

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THE FRANCHISE BILL

At the Annual Conference of the I.L.P. branches in the Midlands area, held at Coventry, a resolution was passed, urging upon the Labour Party, and especially the I.L.P. Members of Parliament, the necessity of opposing the Reform Bill unless it provides for Adult Suffrage.

PRESS OPINIONS

The defeat of all the amendments next month would be . . . a staggering blow. Therefore every Member of Parliament who has any kind of suffragism in him should look well beyond the minor issues and the provocations or resentments or inconveniences of the moment, and recognise the vital importance of securing from the House of Commons upon this occasion a suffragist vote. If he does not vote for the suffrage now, he can never claim from suffragists the benefit of any further doubt. Equally it is essential that the suffragist strength should not be dissipated more than is inevitable in the support of rival amendments.—**Daily Chronicle.**

A Parliamentary correspondent states that if Sir Edward Grey's motion be carried, but all subsequent efforts to introduce woman suffrage amendments be defeated, and the Franchise Bill in that form becomes law, it would rest with the judges, as interpreters of the statutes, to say whether or not, by the deliberate omission of the word "male," Parliament had thereby enfranchised women. The opinion is general that the judges would rule against such a contention.—**The Standard.**

If more votes are given to men and none to women—a contingency that we find it difficult to regard as possible—we fear that worse things will happen than have yet taken place. No Government, no authority, ought to yield to intimidation, but when, as part of an agitation for a change in the constitution, acts of lawlessness are deliberately committed, the character and aims of the perpetrators must be taken into account. We wish the whole nation would seriously address itself to this momentous question of votes for women, realise that it cannot be shelved, try to understand it in all its bearings, and make up its collective mind to give women the vote, and that with the least possible delay. Experience shows that no harm, but much good has resulted wherever the franchise has been extended to women, and it is from every point of view lamentable that this country is so slow to take a step that must certainly be taken at no very distant date.—**Christian Commonwealth.**

THE WOMEN'S MARCH

Mrs. de Fonblanque asks us to publish the following copy of a letter sent to the Prime Minister:—

To the Rt. Hon. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.

Sir,—In reply to your statement of the 4th inst., I am to inform you that the "Women Marchers" express the greatest astonishment at the attitude you hold towards the petition presented to you on the 16th ult., and altogether fail to understand how the "will of the people" as expressed through that petition, representing thousands of signatures drawn from an area four hundred miles in extent, can fail to influence a Government which professes to govern only by the consent of the governed.

The "Women Marchers" regret that a widely representative mandate from the people, effected by constitutional means, should receive such scant consideration. Realising as they do that delay is fraught with the gravest danger to the well-being of the State, they feel, by the attitude you are taking, you are inciting them to prosecute their demand by using every means in their power to remove the barriers which stand between them and recognition as citizens of their own country.—I am, faithfully yours,

Florence de Fonblanque.
Org. Hon. Sec. to Women's March.

AMERICAN WOMEN'S MARCH

Five women Suffragists started last Monday to walk from New York City to Albany (the legislative capital of New York State), in order to demand votes for women. It is a distance of 140 miles, which they mean to cover in two weeks' time from the date of starting. As in the recent women's march from Edinburgh to London, the nucleus of five had a goodly number of companions as a send-off for the first day's march, and are temporarily reinforced with others along the route. They address meetings at night, and are spreading the news of the movement as they go. The New York correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* adds: "Despatches from 'war correspondents' accompanying the marchers reach here daily, and they form just as interesting reading as anything received in America lately from European battle-fields."

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN DENMARK

It is with the greatest pleasure that we learn of the successful passage through the Danish Folkthing, last Friday, of the Bill for amending the Danish Constitution and granting the suffrage to women on equal terms with men. This amendment to the Constitution was carried by a majority of 95 to 12, there being besides three members who were absent and three who did not vote; and the effect of it, if it becomes law, will be to give the vote to all men and women over twenty-five years of age, with certain qualifications as to character and property.

Since the Bill includes a further constitutional change with regard to the election of Peers, it is possible that difficulties may arise in the course of its passage through the Upper House; also, by the Act of 1849, when the present Constitution was passed, no constitutional change can become law in Denmark until it has been approved in two successive Parliaments. There must, therefore, under the most favourable circumstances, be a general election before women can be placed on the Parliamentary register.

A Decided Victory

But a victory has undoubtedly been gained by the Danish women, for their Government has at least been sufficiently enlightened to make Woman Suffrage a Cabinet question, and that will give it every chance of becoming law. In Denmark, as we pointed out in a special article called "The Country where Queen means Woman," which appeared in Votes for Women on February 4, 1909, women hold a far more respected position than in most European countries. They won full municipal rights without much trouble in 1908, and we believe we are correct in stating that if the new Bill becomes law, Danish women will be eligible for election to Parliament as well as for the exercise of the ballot. As in other countries, the Suffrage movement in Denmark was suffering greatly from stagnation when the rise of the militant movement in England gave it a fresh impetus and new life, the result of which was a vigorous agitation which bore fruit in the Folkthing last week.

(We hope next week to publish an article from our Danish correspondent on this subject.)

UNIVERSITY WOMAN'S PROTEST

On Friday, December 13, a sale was held at Cambridge of jewellery seized from Miss M. B. Thomas, M.A., a member of the N.U.W.S.S., who was resisting the tax on earned income as a University lecturer. There was an excellent attendance at the auction, and after the sale a protest meeting was held, when speeches were made by Mrs. Vulliamy, William Murles, Esq. (Cambridge), and Mrs. Kineton Parkes.

A WOMAN PILOT

A Californian woman, Mrs. Sara Louise Brainard, has just received a United States licence to pilot vessels in the rivers, harbours, and ocean. Mrs. Brainard, according to an American paper, is a lover of water sports, and she owns the fastest motor schooner of the river, the Louisa, and has piloted it up and down the river at night, a thing few male navigators have done.

ANOTHER BACK DOOR FOR WOMEN

Women have long been expected under the guise of canvassers, to tell men how to vote, though they are not considered fit to vote themselves. Now, it appears, they are to induce men to go and learn how to fight, though they are told that they cannot fight themselves, and, what is more, that they therefore forfeit the right to determine by voting whether men shall fight or not. It is all very confusing; yet Colonel Evesham seemed to mean it quite seriously when he exhorted the women in his audience, at a Territorial parade in Manchester, last Saturday, to persuade their young men to become recruits. "What we want you young ladies to do," he said, "is to send your young men here, and we will teach them to use their fists, to shoot, to carry themselves erect, and we will give them a smart uniform." But why should women turn themselves into recruiting sergeants, and ask men to train as soldiers, in view of a terrible contingency over which women, being voteless, are allowed to exercise no control, and about which they are supposed to be incapable of forming a judgment? The recruiting of soldiers, Territorial or otherwise, is merely another backdoor occupation for women—as long as they have no voice in deciding questions of peace and war.

NOT AT ALL "SATISFACTORY"

"All very satisfactory—for the placemen and the placewomen," says the *Evening Standard*, commenting on the salaries given to officials who administer the Insurance Act. We happen to differ very strongly from the *Evening Standard*, however, for among the salaries mentioned are those for male inspectors, £350, and for women inspectors, £300; and we do not consider any scale of salaries satisfactory that differentiates in this way between men and women, always to the disadvantage of the latter. Of course, the newspaper in question is merely discussing salaries in general, and not those of women in particular; but that is the whole point! It should be impossible for any fairminded commentator even to mention this inequality of payment without pointing out its injustice.

"QUITE SUFFRAGETTIC"

A delightfully militant note was struck by Sir George Birdwood the other day, in a letter which he contributed to the *Times* correspondence on old age and long life. In the course of it he says:—

"I attribute my senility—let others say senectitude—to a certain playful devilry of spirit, *a ceaseless militancy quite Suffragettic*. . . . Lie in bed till noonday! I would rather be some monstrous flat fish at the bottom of the Atlantic than accept human life on such terms!"

We wish the flat fish of the House of Commons (the new Westminster Aquarium, one might almost call it) would acquire a little of this delightful "suffragettic" spirit!

IF THE SUFFRAGETTE WON'T COME TO THE WINDOW——

An angry correspondent writes to the *Daily Sketch* to complain of the reporting of militant doings. "Our village boys," the letter continues, "read constantly of the gross behaviour of the militant suffragists, and have lately been copying them and thrown large stones on the church roof. The windows will doubtless follow and get broken."

The writer of this letter seems to us unduly apprehensive. Windows that know how to follow a large stone on to a church roof can surely be left to take care of themselves.

"THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH"

The Christmas number of the *Christian Commonwealth* (December 11) is full of interesting articles, interviews, and reviews. It should be ordered direct from the office, 133, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.

Should any of our readers wish to buy a piano, will they remember that the Dimoline Piano Company, 11, Parkhurst Road, Camden Road, N., are among the most regular advertisers in Votes for Women?

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